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Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts (through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

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also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities.

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization.

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*.

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close

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together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

Other families tend to build new houses near the original family house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

However, relationships between village families cross kinship and even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

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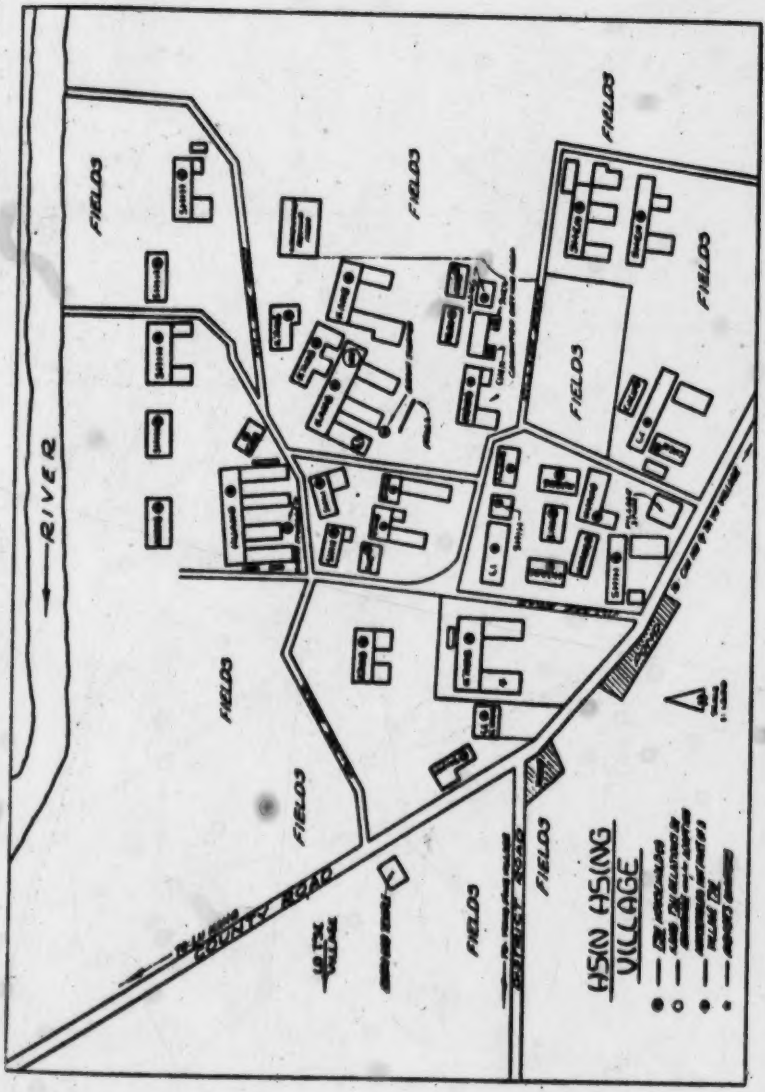

Map 2. Hsin Hsing village.

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PLAN of the MAIN HOUSE of the HUANG TSU

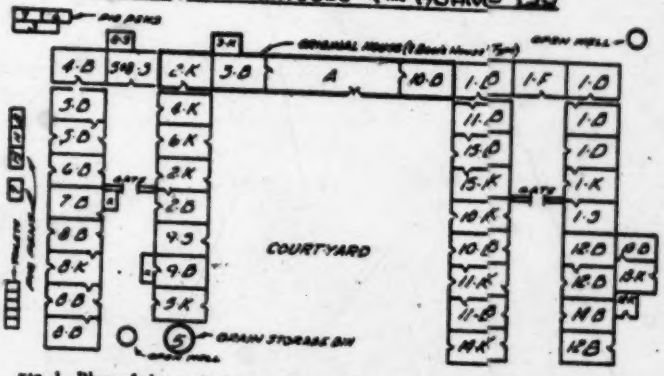

FIG. 1. Plan of the main house of the Huang *tsu*. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by whole *tsu*; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom; *F*, family room; *D*, dining room. The numbers 1 through 15 represent the fifteen Huang households which inhabit the Huang *tsu* main house. It will be noted that the rooms which make up the apartment of each household may be in different parts of the house. The house is built of brick and cement, with a tile roof. Only rooms 10-K, 10-B, 11-K, and 11-B have bamboo and mud walls.

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PLAN of K'ANG BROTHERS' HOUSE

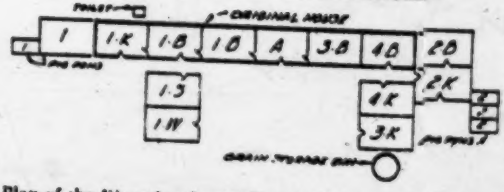

FIG. 2. Plan of the K'ang brothers' house. *1*, K'ang T'u; *2*, K'ang Ting-shan; *3*, K'ang Ting-shan's first son; *4*, K'ang Ting-shan's second son. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by all four households; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom, and *W*, water buffalo shelter. K'ang T'u and K'ang Ting-shan are brothers. A number of years ago they divided their family into two separate economic units; at the same time they divided ownership of their house. Recently K'ang Ting-shan and his sons divided their large family into separate economic units and also divided ownership of their half of the house. (See Chapter 5 for a discussion of family division.)

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575 Teacher Association) at the district primary school serving the children from Hsin Hsing and other nearby villages. Villagers also have

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landownership rights as well as the types of ownership patterns in Taiwan tend to foster such fragmentation and scattering of landholdings. The ownership of land is for the most part inherited in equal shares by the family's sons, including any son or sons by adoption. Although by law daughters may also inherit land, since they are usually married out of the family they do not participate in the inheritance.

All of the land owned by villagers comes under the official heading of privately owned land. Land can be owned by individuals or families under individual or joint ownership. Individual-ownership land is a piece of surveyed land which is owned and registered in the name of a single owner. Joint-ownership land is land surveyed as a single field and recorded in the name of one representative owner which is actually owned jointly by a number of people; each of the joint owners owns a portion of the surveyed field and cultivates his plot separately. The third kind of private-ownership land is corporate land. There are only a few relatively insignificant instances in Hsin Hsing of village patrilineal kinship groups (*tsu*) owning corporate land. In each case the landholding is small and is recorded in the name of the eldest *tsu* male—who in some instances has long since died. Most often *tsu* land is leased—usually on a rotation basis—to *tsu* family members. The rent paid is used to finance *tsu* functions such as the upkeep of the *tsu*'s main ancestral-worship room (no Hsin Hsing village *tsu* has an ancestral temple) and sometimes the expenses of ancestral worship. The land reform law has technically eliminated the category of such *tsu* or corporate landholdings.

Neither the earlier Japanese nor the present land tenure system permits subtenants in Taiwan; there is no such concept of ownership or tenancy of "subsoil" or "land surface" as was found to exist in many instances on the mainland (as discussed in Fei, 1939:174–196). According to both the law or official records and the villagers' concept of land tenure, a family—usually under the name of its senior male member—owns land. The land may be cultivated by that family itself or, for various reasons, leased to a tenant. The tenant cultivates the land and pays a predetermined rent—usually in kind—to the landlord. Until the 1949–1953 Land Reform Acts, tenants had no rights on the land except those granted by the landlord. Land reform has radically changed this. Today tenants and their families have certain rights on the land they cultivate and therefore a greater degree of security.

In spite of the pressures of the constantly increasing population on the land, there has been little development of any kind of important local industry. Except in some scattered brickworks and menthol-distilling factories in the area, there is little demand for the labor of

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The pay scale for the members of the labor groups varies annually with the price of rice. The exact rate paid by the small landholders of Hsin Hsing usually follows that paid by large landlords. The wages may either be paid individually to each member of the labor crew or else paid in a lump sum to the group according to the amount of land harvested. In the former system the men are paid from NT $22 to NT $25 per day, the women about NT $10 per day. Where payment is based on amount of land harvested, the lump sum to the group is divided equally among the men after they have paid the wages of any women among them. The latter wage system is more commonly used in the second rice crop of the year and the individual payment method usually for the first rice crop, since it is larger than the second and requires more work. 241 465

In Hsin Hsing there are about fifteen families which hire labor groups simply because they have no labor to exchange. This is usually the case when the head of the household is working in Taipei or is an older man. Others who hire laborers rather than exchange labor are somewhat wealthier people who can afford to pay in cash rather than in their own labor to get their land harvested. 241 464

A pure exchange labor group usually is more of an ideal than an actuality. Such a group is composed preferably of ten persons for rice harvesting. Ideally, they must be ten people who all cultivate approximately the same amount of rice paddy; thus, they can move from one piece of land to another until all their land is harvested, without having to calculate the labor hours devoted to each individual's land. If the need for a quick harvest is urgent, as it sometimes is in the first rice crop, the group decides which land to harvest first by inspecting each member's crop to determine which is the ripest, and it then proceeds in that order. If there is good reason to hurry the harvesting of the first crop, the farmers prefer not to rely on exchange labor, but hire a labor team. Therefore, there is less labor exchanged in the first crop than in the second. 241 464 496

This type of exchange labor harvesting group is not often found in Hsin Hsing, simply because it is not easy to find ten people with approximately the same amount of land to harvest. But there are some such groups in Hsin Hsing made up of individuals such as *tsu* members, neighbors, or sworn brothers who are intimate. The people in such a group, because of their relationship, are not concerned if some people in the group have more land to harvest than others. There is, for example, in Hsin Hsing a group consisting of several households with the same family name who are all descended from the same grandfather; they all live in apartments in the same large house and form a pure exchange labor group. These families for the most part have very good relations and enough men to exchange labor in this 241 496 618 464

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241 464 476 [618] way. While the men and boys of these households do the actual harvesting, the women work together to dry the rice in the courtyard, keeping each family's rice separate.

Probably the most common kind of labor group in Hsin Hsing and the area is a mixed group of ten people, some hired and others exchange laborers. Such a group is composed mainly of people who cultivate different amounts of rice land and usually includes some who are the equivalent of hired laborers and cultivate no rice land at all. [618] Such groups generally have no fixed membership, though it is common for the same group of men, often *tsu* relatives or friends, to form the core of the group and to include additional villagers each year to complete the team. Preferably, these additional farmers till at least a moderate amount of rice land. Farmers with a very small amount of land usually hire laborers, as do those with such large amounts of rice land that it takes too long to exchange labor.

241 476 464 465 Because of the composition of this mixed labor group a special system of accounting has been worked out which is based on the knowledge that the team will harvest more of some members' land than others and probably no land at all for a few. The group therefore manages itself almost like a hired labor group. When the group harvests the land of one of its members, the owner pays into the group's fund wages for each member based on the amount of land harvested. The owner of the land harvested furnishes all the food to the group just as if it were a hired team. When all the land of its members has been harvested, all the money which has been paid is equally divided. Once this is done, if there is still a demand for farm labor, the group may decide to hire out as a labor team; if some of the members do not care to hire out they are replaced at random.

241 464 476 The farmer attempts to plan the harvest so that it can be completed in one day, since he must supply food for the laborers. If necessary, the labor team may be increased by one or two members, either by hiring a few additional people or by recruiting members of the farmer's own family to help.

There are also some special cases of exchange labor in Hsin Hsing village. One farmer does field labor in exchange for free medical service for the family from the local doctor, one of the former large landlords of the village. In this case there is no way to calculate the equivalence of the services exchanged, but the families of the two men have been very close for many years, and they appear to be satisfied with the arrangement.

464 476 There are also instances of exchange labor between villagers who have some special work to be done, such as building a house. Although the labor exchanged may not be for the same kind of job, the men simply calculate the exchange on the basis of a day of work for a day of

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from Hsin Hsing. The reason for such diversified joint-ownership groupings may very well go back to the initial period of settlement in the area. 423

However, the most common type of joint ownership in Hsin Hsing is holdings of groups of cousins or brothers. Inheritance of family land is generally the reason for such ownership groupings. Usually, cousins who are joint owners are members of separate households. The land originally belonged to their fathers as joint land, or to their paternal grandfather, or perhaps to some even more distant relative. 423 593 605 [428]

On the other hand, the situation varies when the joint owners are brothers. If family division has already taken place, then each brother will cultivate his share of the land independently. If division has not occurred, the brothers work the whole plot as a common unit, just as they manage all of the economic affairs of such a household. Sometimes brothers may have recently inherited the joint shares from their father. In other cases, the brothers may have recently purchased the land as joint-ownership land. Some have officially listed the exact share of each brother to eliminate any problems or disputes over the land when the family divides. 423 593

The joint ownership of land became a serious disadvantage for some farmers as a result of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Owners of joint-ownership portions of land are really no different from the owners of individually owned plots. However, according to the reform act of 1953 (T'ang, 1954:186, Chapter II, Article 8), any joint-ownership land which is not tilled by the owner but is rented out instead, and is not owned by certain specified helpless people, e.g., the old, the infirm, orphans, is liable for expropriation by the government or purchase by the tenant. This singling out of joint-ownership land was done by the government in an attempt to do away with this very common but administratively complex type of ownership which is "primitive and confused" (Chang, 1954:80). While individually owned land could be retained by the noncultivating landlord in amounts up to three *chia* (if medium-grade land), the law did not provide for retention of any portion by joint owners of land. 423 656

As a result of this purely technical difference, the law has worked a hardship on many owners who owned small shares of joint-ownership land which they rented out. One such example in Hsin Hsing village was a man who owned a few small portions of joint-ownership land. Since he held an outside job, his family worked one of the small plots and rented out the other; the income contributed to their livelihood. This rented-out land, on which a share of the family's income depended, was expropriated by the government.

Corporate or community-ownership land is the third type of private-ownership land. In Hsin Hsing village, as in most villages in Taiwan, 423 618

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this type of landholding belongs to a *tsu* group. The *tsu* may be a very large one which dominates a whole village, as in many Taiwanese villages, or it may be one of many small *tsu* groups in a village such as Hsin Hsing. In Hsin Hsing only a few of the *tsu* groups own such land, which represents only 3.2 percent of the total land owned by Hsin Hsing villagers. Almost half of this corporate land is the house land for *tsu* members. Almost all of the cultivated corporate land, about 0.5 *chia*, belongs to one of the larger *tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the K'angs. Most of their land is unofficially rented out to two of the *tsu's* own members, who then pay rent of 37.5 percent to the *tsu*. The money is used for some of the *tsu* expenses such as religious ceremonials or the repair of the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room.

In the official land tenure records, the corporate land is listed in the name of some members of the *tsu* group; it is not recorded as rented-out land. In the several cases of corporate landholdings in Hsin Hsing, the *tsu* members listed as owners in the records are long since deceased, but their names are still carried in the books. The cultivated portions of the corporate lands are administered by respected *tsu* elders. Generally, in Hsin Hsing the *tsu* group pays little concern to its corporate lands, since the amount of them is actually insignificant.[4]

LAND REFORM AND THE LANDLORD

The government compensated landlords for lands expropriated in 1953, but because of the unstable economic situation the compensation was not in cash; 70 percent was paid in land bonds and 30 percent in Government Enterprise Stockshares. In order to insure the value of the bonds against the fluctuations in currency values, they were issued to the former landlords on a commodity basis and, at maturity, were to be paid in kind instead of in cash. Rice was to be paid in return for expropriated paddy land and sweet potatoes for dry land. The principal and interest at 4 percent per annum on the land bonds are being paid to the former landlords over a ten-year period in twenty equal semiannual installments (a payment schedule notably similar to that made by the purchasers of the land from the government). The land bonds are transferable and can be sold on the open market or used as security in financial matters (Chang, 1954:76–77; T'ang, 1954:147–151; 154–163).

After the restoration the national and provincial governments owned 70 percent of the industrial enterprises in Taiwan. These had been taken over from the Japanese at the end of the war. At that time, it was the desire of the Nationalist Chinese government to transfer all public enterprises to private owners except those relating to national defense, those of a monopolistic nature, and those affecting utilities.

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T [554] different ways. The first reaction has been apathy—a reluctance to occupy positions of formal village leadership. The other reaction has been for villagers who have more time and money than their fellows and who may aspire to improve their status, to assume formal village leadership.

T 622 829 The first reaction is best evidenced by a new problem in recent village elections, and especially in the 1958 election. In six of the twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, there was no candidate for mayor. According to the district officials, the problem in those six villages was that no one was willing to spend the time and money required of the position. Several villagers pointed out that "The office of village mayor must be filled by a person who is not bound to his fields or other work to support his family. He must have an interest in village affairs and enough money to meet the expenses of the traditional functions of the office. He must be able to entertain any public officials or police visiting the village; he must have enough education and social acumen to carry on successfully the necessary relationships with villagers as well as outsiders with whom he is in frequent contact as village head." However, here it may be noted that the office of mayor no longer requires that an individual have a relatively high degree of education and literacy; village records and paper work are now maintained by a minor official from the district Public Office who acts as village secretary.

T [647] T 184 622 554 In other villages, the reaction to the withdrawal of landlords from participation in village affairs has been that other people have attempted to fill the position of mayor, who is general village leader. In some villages, men who have the basic qualifications for the office, as well as a sincere interest in working for the village, have gained the respect of their fellow villagers and have been successful as mayor and village head.

There are also villages—and Hsin Hsing appears to be one of the few in the area—in which the individuals elected to the office of mayor have failed to win respect or acceptance as village leaders. Although T 622 554 they have the qualifications of money and time, and often were the only candidates in the village, their motives are suspect. The man who was mayor of Hsin Hsing during my stay there is perhaps a good example of this. He is a man whom most of the villagers fear but do not respect. They point to his inadequate education—"He knows very few characters!" They say that he has kept more than one wife at a time by taking other men's wives. They feel that he does not really want to work for the village, but only to increase his own power and T 618 status. Nevertheless, in spite of all this, he was elected. The main reason he was elected, apparently, is that he has enough time and money to carry out at least the superficial functions of the office, and

A/ i.e. to the withdrawal of economic interest and leadership in the community by the landlord--Analyst/

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village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

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Family and Kinship

The scope of the changed and extended relationships beyond the village is very evident in the examination of the family and kinship system, the life cycle, and religious and magical beliefs to which we now turn. As in the preceding chapters, it will be observed that many of the relationships that extend beyond the village, such as certain economically based connections and relations with matrilateral and affinal relatives, are not new phenomena either for the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing or for other Chinese villagers. The Chinese village has seldom been an isolated unit, and many traditional types of extended relationships common to the mainland will be evident in the structure of social relations in Hsin Hsing village. However, there are changes and modifications in these aspects of village life which can be directly related to the recent socioeconomic developments and increasing urbanization which were discussed earlier.

Chapter 5 will describe the nature and functions of the family and kinship system in the village area, while Chapter 6 will examine interfamily and interpersonal relations, especially as they extend beyond the village and affect intravillage cooperation. Chapters 7 and 8 will indicate the interaction of the above relations and the economic factors of life with the life cycle and the magical and religious beliefs and practices.

THE *TSU*

Fukien, the ancestral province of the residents of Hsin Hsing, is known for the predominance of the large common descent groups called *tsu* organizations. As a number of writers have pointed out (Hu, 1948:14; Chen Han-seng, 1936:37; Lang, 1946:173; de Groot, vol. I, 1892:191) many villages in the provinces of southeastern China are inhabited exclusively by families bearing one surname, so that *tsu* and village are coterminous. In other villages which contained several *tsu*, each kept to itself in a separate neighborhood. So predominant

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was the institution that perhaps four out of every five persons were members of an organized *tsu* (Lang, 1946:173).

Tsu organization performed many important activities and functions, as Hu Hsien-chin (1948:10) has pointed out:

> The *tsu* keeps a record of its descent lines by the compilation of genealogies. It is endowed with property by well-to-do members and uses the income to defray the expenses of ancestral ritual, to assist young members to attain an education, to help out destitute members in old age or when orphaned, and to provide burial space for the dead. Where the *tsu* constitutes a community, community affairs are managed by its leaders. Furthermore the *tsu* is interested in promoting the social standing of its members, as their prestige raises the reputation and influence of the group, and it is much concerned with straightening out differences between members and with keeping up the sense of moral values with the family and the *tsu*.
>
> These features have allowed the *tsu* to develop considerable solidarity and have enabled it to compete successfully for prestige and power against similar groups in the same neighborhood.

These activities and functions were performed by a highly structured and highly segmented organization with a population of two or three thousand people, as Freedman (1958:132) has noted. The membership is characterized by broad social differentiation including

> families of bureaucrats, . . . some well-to-do merchants, a proportion of small traders and craftsmen, and a mass of cultivators, the greater part of whom work land held in the name of the lineage or its various segments. The majority of the members of the lineage are poor, but the lineage as a whole is corporately rich in land, ancestral halls, and such other items of property as rice mills. Men tend to stay within the community, and even if they go out of it in order to take office or engage in business they leave their families behind, return when they are older, and send money back.

In fact, Hu (1948:10) notes that although the membership of the *tsu* may be "spread over a wider region, it has its focus in one community which is always associated with the ancestral graves and the ancestral hall where the memory of the ancestors is venerated."

The *tsu* as Hu (1948) and Freedman (1958) describe it is elaborate in structure, function, and activity. Freedman, however, suggests that loosely structured organizations are still to be considered *tsu* and accordingly constructs a scale on which localized lineages may be placed, differentiating them in social status along a "continuum from A to Z" (1958:131), representing "models of the polar opposities of the scale" (1958:131). Thus, the *tsu* pictured above by Hu and Freedman would be the "Z" model while "A" model is

> small in numbers, with a population of two or three hundred souls. Apart from one or two small shopkeepers and a few craftsmen, its members are cultivators of small pieces of land which they own outright or rent from

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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external landlords. Their general level of income is low. They own no common property except for a plot of land which is the grave site of the founding ancestor. . . . Apart from domestic ancestor worship, which is conducted before the simplest instruments, and annual rites at the tomb of the founder of the lineage, there is no ancestor cult. There is no recorded genealogy, individual men being placed in the system merely by their generation (which is indicated by their personal names) and their ascription to one or the other of the sub-lineages which trace their origin from the sons of the founder. No genealogical unit stands between the sub-lineage and the household, nor is there any tendency for groups of closely related households to co-operate economically and ritually. Headship of the sub-lineages and the lineage passes to the oldest men in the senior generation of these units, no other formal leaders being recognized. Disputes are brought before sub-lineage heads, but when they cannot be resolved a gentleman from the protecting community is brought in to try to reach a settlement (Freedman, 1958: 131–132).

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The continuum can be even further extended to include the very small localized kinship organizations found in many villages in Taiwan (such as in the Hsin Hsing area) and probably also on the mainland of China. Before going on to a discussion of family I will attempt to demonstrate this. In both structure and function, these small localized kinship organizations go beyond what Freedman refers to as "inflated families" [1] and which he warns us not to confuse with lineages (1958:2). Such kinship organizations as exist in Hsin Hsing do not quite approach either the size or structural complexity even of Freedman's "A model" *tsu*. Nevertheless, these kinship organizations —on the basis of their activities and functions—are *tsu*, since they are more than simply patrilineally related families. They do operate as local organizations which are aligned on the basis of patrilineal kinship and attempt to wield sociopolitical influence in the village and area.

*The Single-*Tsu *Village*

The general social organization of a village made up exclusively of one *tsu* group is likely to be rather different from a village like Hsin Hsing, which contains a number of smaller *tsu* and unrelated family units. The village with a single large *tsu*, as has been pointed out (Hu, 1948:9–11), tends to have a unified organization which dominates most of the village's activities. No matter how many village "social associations" a villager belongs to, he finds that the members of each are all part of the same kinship group. While this does not necessarily eliminate interfamily or interfactional rivalry and friction within the village, such *tsu* organization nevertheless does tend to create an unusually firm basis for group solidarity. The *tsu*, in effect, is the village and is thus very easily able to present itself as a unified

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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body against pressures from outside. It has, in addition, a much stronger basis for internal unity and cooperation. Thus, families which belong to such single-*tsu* villages gain a substantial amount of security from the situation.

While there are now few single-*tsu* villages, and apparently few fully active *tsu* organizations in the Hsin Hsing area, during late Ch'ing times and even into the early Japanese period there seem to have been many *tsu* groups with unity and power which were active. Most of the large *tsu* organizations were confined to individual villages, although some extended into several. At the earlier date, it appears that these organizations were either overseas sections of large mainland *tsu* or had at least been formed on the basis of their earlier ancestral affiliations in China (Barclay, 1954b:47). In the Hsin Hsing area these affiliations were probably reinforced by the relative ease and frequency of communication between the mainland and the nearby port of Lukang.

Hsin Hsing villagers still tell how these *tsu* organizations and single-*tsu* villages frequently took part in inter-*tsu* rivalry and fighting. Barclay (1954b:47) has noted how these groups (which he does not define, but refers to as "clans") engaged in "indiscriminate civil disorder" along the line of the cleavages and antagonisms brought over from the mainland. Older villagers say that during the late Ch'ing period there were few government officers in the rural area to control these *tsu* groups, and if an officer did appear, he could easily be bribed. With the advent of the Japanese, however, the situation rapidly changed. The Japanese police were not "polite" when a *tsu* organization "insulted or beat other villagers." If *tsu* members "did wrong," they were beaten by the Japanese who, unlike the Ch'ing dynasty officers, "could not be bribed." The *tsu* members feared the Japanese officers just as any ordinary villager did, and for this reason the *tsu* organizations were often reluctant to support members who got into trouble. As a result the *tsu* began to lose their unity and power: ten to twenty years after the Japanese had taken over the government of Taiwan, the activities of the *tsu* villages and organizations had significantly decreased in the Hsin Hsing area. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, the port of Lukang lost its importance as a channel of communication with the mainland soon after the Japanese arrived. As the movement of people between Taiwan and the mainland ceased, relations between the Taiwanese *tsu* and the paternal *tsu* on the mainland broke down. This was very likely another factor contributing to the weakening of Taiwanese *tsu* organizations after the Japanese occupation.

There are now few *tsu* organizations which are strong enough to be of major influence in the Hsin Hsing area as a whole, and only three of the approximately twenty-two villages are inhabited exclusively

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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by one *tsu*. The single-*tsu* village is known locally as "*yi hsing ts'un*" ("one surname village"), and in the literature is commonly called a "clan village." 618

*The Multi-*Tsu *Village*

Today, most of the villages in the Hsin Hsing area are populated by several *tsu* groups, plus a number of families not affiliated with any of the village *tsu;* these are called "*tsa hsing ts'un*" ("mixed surname villages") and are sometimes referred to in the literature as "multi-kin villages" or "segmented communities." In the Hsin Hsing area they are of the type with a marked tendency toward local exogamy. In these villages, unlike the single-*tsu* village, no individual *tsu*'s activities coincide with those of the village organization.

Hsin Hsing, a multi-kin village, was first settled by immigrants from Fukien who came to Taiwan in small groups of three or four men. After examining the area, these men finally founded the village of Hsin Hsing. Soon after this, and throughout the years that followed, people of other surnames came to this easily accessible plains area and settled down in the village. As time passed, the families of some of the earliest arrivals grew into what now comprise the several village *tsu* groups. Of these, the larger *tsu* are the ones which go back to the early period of the village founding and have therefore had the time as well as advantageous circumstances which have enabled them, relatively speaking, to increase their number of member families and population. Others with perhaps equally long village histories are still small because circumstances somehow prevented their expansion. Some of these have few members in a small number of related families; several are still in individual unrelated family units. The latter have simply produced too few surviving children, so that they have never expanded their numbers sufficiently to have more than a single male heir in a generation to carry on the male line. Others are of relatively recent origin in the village, some only three generations, not yet long enough to have expanded their membership and number of associated family units. [167]

However, in Hsin Hsing village even the relatively older and larger *tsu* are far simpler and less elaborated organizations than Freedman's (1958) somewhat less complex "type A" *tsu*. But as we shall see, they share many features of structure and function which differ primarily in degree rather than in kind. The *tsu* organization of Hsin Hsing, in this respect, is rather representative of the general area and more than likely of much of the mainland.

The lack of elaboration of the size and organization of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* can be attributed to two main causes. The relatively short history of both the village and of the *tsu* organizations has meant a

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lack of depth in generations and therefore a lack of breadth in collateral relatives. Then, economic pressures and the resulting rather high degree of out-migration, often of whole family units, has restricted the expansion of local *tsu;* in fact, the size of village *tsu* may have almost reached a point of relative stability.

Part of the lack of an elaborate *tsu* organization in Hsin Hsing can be seen in the absence of significant formal *tsu* segmentation, i.e. into *fang*—a sub-*tsu*—or *chih*—a *tsu* branch. The lack of formal segmentary organization is most likely a function of small size—even the largest *tsu* organization has a population of only over one hundred, and several others are considerably smaller. All village *tsu* embrace groups of families in several lines of descent (Freedman might call them "sub-lineages" since each traces its origins to a son of the *tsu* founder) within which are families of more closely related kinsmen, such as the families of brothers. However, these sub-lineages neither have nor attempt to exert sociopolitical influence in the village; they depend upon their *tsu* organization to do this in their behalf. Again, this is a result of their relatively small size; it has prevented the evolution within the *tsu* of broad social differentiation and thus of sub-lineages wealthy enough to form new or separate formal segments by setting aside or donating property as corporate lineage property or for an ancestral hall. The fact is, formal segmentation of *tsu* as small as those of Hsin Hsing would "reduce the groups below the minimal functional size" (Geddes, 1963:30).

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Before examining something of the activities of the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organizations, let us first turn to their composition. As noted earlier, there are twelve surnames among the ninety-nine family units in the village.[3] Four of these—Huang, Shih, K'ang, and Shen (in order of number of people)—make up 82 percent of the village population and 81 percent of the village households. Nearly every fourth villager is named Huang. Most of the Huangs belong to one *tsu,* tracing their common ancestry to one of the village founders. Aside from two small member households which live elsewhere in the village, the whole *tsu* membership lives in one large compound made up of two buildings, where each household has its own apartment. Three small Huang households do not belong to this *tsu* and live elsewhere in the village. (See Map 2.)

Each of the three other most common village surnames is found in at least two different kinship groups, some of large size and others of moderate size. But regardless of the number of member families, the members of such groups maintain themselves in some form of kinship organization and live in a compound together or in a small cluster of separate houses. Thus, the two kinship groupings with the surname Shih can be said to form two *tsu* organizations of an incipient form;

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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each lives in its own section of the village. Hsin Hsing also contains two very small Shih households which are not related to each other nor to either of the Shih *tsu* organizations.

The families with the surname K'ang form three separate kinship groups (one of them is the second largest *tsu* in the village) plus a few isolated households. The large K'ang *tsu* occupies a compound made up of one very large extended house and a smaller structure and two other smaller buildings in other sections of the village. The other K'ang kinship groupings occupy their own compounds in other parts of the village. The K'ang households which are not members of any of the other kinship groupings in Hsin Hsing also live separately. One of these families actually traces a common ancestor with one of the smaller K'ang kinship groupings but because of internal conflict participates in none of its functions. One of the isolated K'ang families is headed by a man who was formerly the wealthiest landlord in the village; his predecessor, the old family head now deceased, was village mayor in Japanese times. The family moved into Hsin Hsing about thirty years ago from the small neighboring village of Lo T'se, where there is still a large K'ang *tsu* organization with which the Hsin Hsing landlord maintains close relations and in which his family continues to participate.

The majority of the Shen families comprise one *tsu*, and most of its members live in one corner of the village, although a few member families live in a single building in a different part of the village. One unrelated Shen family lives in still another part of the village.

Thus, various independent households in Hsin Hsing bear the same surnames as some village *tsu* organizations. On this basis they are considered *ch'in t'ang* (relatives of the ancestral hall) and therefore might at times be given some slight preferential treatment by the *tsu* with which they share a common surname. In this sense they might be treated somewhat differently from the families which bear the eight other village surnames and form unrelated households. But a number of village families have few or no patrilineal kinship relations within the village.

Tsu *Activities and Functions*

To accomplish their ultimate goal of benefiting their members through the organization's sociopolitical influence, the Hsin Hsing *tsu* perform a number of activities which help to provide the necessary group solidarity. And while they have not succeeded as completely as they might with more resources—for example, in population and wealth—*tsu* solidarity and members' total identification and loyalty are notably more complete than the villagers' greatly diminished solidarity and identification with the village itself as a community.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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(This latter point will be further discussed in Chapter 6.) The village *tsu* organizations do continue to maintain a certain solidarity in the ceremonial, social, and political areas.

618 769 In Hsin Hsing the *tsu*, in terms of its actual activities, is very clearly a ceremonial group. As we will later see in greater detail, the *tsu* comes together for ancestor worship: sometimes for worship of an early ancestor by the representatives of all the *tsu* families and other times only segments, such as the families of several brothers, who alone come together to worship their own more recent ancestor. On the other hand, representatives of the entire *tsu* membership participate in funeral rituals in one capacity or another, depending upon their relationship with the deceased. However, the actual mourning during and after the funeral is actively participated in only by the much smaller immediate family of the deceased, including all lineal relatives, and perhaps extending out to no more than the first or perhaps second degree or grade of collaterality. Thus, the *wu fu* (or five mourning grades) at best operates in Hsin Hsing in a much watered-down version. The other ceremonial and festive or social occasions in which the entire *tsu* membership, or representatives of each member family, participate or cooperate is at the time of a marriage and certain other life cycle events, such as the rite when a boy reaches the age of sixteen.

618 171 114 476 But what we have seen among the Hsin Hsing *tsu* is quite beyond what Fei relates about patrilineal kinship groups in Kaihsienkung (in the Yangtze valley) which he calls "*Tsu*." The *Tsu* in Kaihsienkung, Fei tells us, "can be taken as no more than a ceremonial group which assembles periodically at wedding and funeral occasions, taking a common feast, offering sacrifices to the common ancestors together, and contributing a small sum barely enough to cover the food. Real social obligations of mutual aid exist between smaller groups, such as brothers with newly divided households" (1939:83). Therefore the *Tsu* as a larger kinship group appears to take little part in nonceremonial activities such as the economic or especially the sociopolitical activities and functions in which the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* actually do participate as single organizations.

618 [171] To a degree, however, there is similarity between the Kaihsienkung *Tsu* and the *tsu* of Hsin Hsing in their nonparticipation in economic activities. As we have noted, most of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* are small, not particularly well-off financially, and have a minimum of social differentiation. Only the large K'ang *tsu* has maintained any corporate landholdings, and even there the income is so small that no ancestral hall has ever been built, nor has the income been used for educational or welfare purposes beyond allowing its own poorest member families alternately to rent the lineage land when land was at a premium. Primarily, the income has gone to help in maintaining the *tsu*

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ancestral-worship room in the main *tsu* house. (When other *tsu* need special funds for work in the room or for the worship itself, member families are usually taxed.) Whether village family groupings form a large or small *tsu*, or even smaller groups of related families, they do not function as central economic units for their member families. Each family or household is an independent economic unit.

While in many ways these seperate economic units do act in unison, such as for exchange labor on the basis of their kin or *tsu* relationships, for the most part their actions as economic units are fairly independent. This means that in many areas of activity the family operates with relatively little regard for their patrilineal kin in other households. Consequently, family economic and social relationships are not limited to patrilineal relatives. As in the single *tsu* village, many Hsin Hsing villagers belong to a number of both formal and informal social associations. However, in Hsin Hsing these activities bring them into regular contact with fellow villagers with whom they have no kinship relationship. Such a diversity of activities with both relatives and nonrelatives in the village does have a tendency to undercut the solidarity of the *tsu* or kinship organizations. In addition, family activities and relationships, both kin and non-kin, also extend beyond the village. (The latter will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.)

Still, the member families of each Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organization, including some which have no more than sixty to seventy people, do band together in many other village sociopolitical activities. Therefore, when we examine elected offices we see that the village mayor is one of the financially better off and influential members from the large K'ang *tsu*. The village representative to the *hsiang* council is an older "gentleman" from the big Huang *tsu;* he is considered well educated and (on the basis of the three *chia* [7.2 acres] maximum landholding allowed since the land reform) is a fairly large landowner who hires laborers to work his land. The elected agent and head of the village small unit of the district Farmers' Association is an influential member from the large Shen *tsu*. The villagers' choice of one relatively important man from each large *tsu* organization is clearly not a coincidence.[9] Villagers definitely align themselves on the basis of *tsu* in such situations. Each *tsu* attempts to work for its own socioeconomic and political influence in village affairs, or at times in cooperation with other village *tsu* when that proves more advantageous. This is true in village elections or even in what appears to be occasional *tsu* block voting in district or county elections. According to the villagers, this would occur if one of the *tsu*'s own members is a candidate, but actually occurs more usually when a *tsu* member's *ch'in ch'i* or even friend is a candidate.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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618 That Hsin Hsing *tsu* are more than merely ceremonial is seen in the way various individual unrelated families, because they share a common surname with a *tsu*, try to identify with it and, to a small degree, do absorb some of the hoped for and actual sociopolitical benefits and security which seem to accrue to members of the larger village *tsu* organizations. (This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.)

618 627 Each village *tsu* can therefore be seen as attempting to exert sociopolitical influence in the village and sometimes also in the immediate area in competition with other *tsu*. So as not to weaken its position in face of the rest of the village, each *tsu* works hard to confine its internal conflicts within the *tsu* itself. Therefore, their own respected (and usually well-off) elders serve as mediators for the solution of intra-*tsu* conflict. In case of inter-*tsu*, general village, or intervillage conflict, these same *tsu* leaders have usually been recognized by the villagers as the most likely people to be able to bring a conflict to a successful solution.

618 As we have seen above and will see more of here and in Chapter 6, the Hsin Hsing village area kinship organizations, despite their relatively small size and minimum formalization, nevertheless do display a relative functional equivalence to Hu's (1948) and Freedman's (1958) images of a *tsu* and thus are clearly to be considered as *tsu* organizations, as they are by their members. One might further note that for the *tsu* organizations in Hsin Hsing village, there appears to be no inherent relationship between structure and function. The most important feature of such groupings is that their activities (such as their sociopolitical ones) be carried out within the local community and perhaps the larger area, and these seem to be carried through here with a minimum of formal structure. Since *tsu* is not to be thought of as a static organizational phenomenon but rather as having a kind of evolution with stages going from incipience through decay, a *tsu* in its early or incipient stages of development could then exist on a very small scale, be rather weak in its formal organization and activities and even in its functional effectiveness, and yet still maintain itself as a *tsu*.

178 618 What is also worth noting (and what we will see more of in Chapter 6), is that conditions in the Taiwanese rural area have been working against the likelihood of these unelaborated *tsu* ever developing into truly mature *tsu*. This seems to be true in the case of the adverse effect [648] on the rural *tsu* organizations by the Japanese during their period of occupation of Taiwan and the recently changing socioeconomic condi- [423] tions, such as the Land Reform Program, which prohibit the *tsu* from acquiring corporate landholdings and inhibit *tsu* members from achieving great landed wealth within the rural area. In addition, it also appears that as a result of these past and recent developments the

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villagers feel a need to turn outward away from the village. Therefore, although the villagers themselves continue to see their local kinship-based organizations as *tsu*, not simply groups aimed at preserving a patrilineal tie, and also continue to try to make them function as *tsu*, their strong identity with, dependence on, and submission to the authority of their *tsu* organizations is now being undermined.

THE ECONOMIC FAMILY

In Hsin Hsing village the economic family, the *chia*, is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang, 1946:13). The household or *hu* may in theory include temporary residents such as relatives or servants in addition to the members of the economic family. Since there are seldom additional people in Hsin Hsing families (or in families in the area generally), the *chia* and the *hu* almost always coincide in the village, and the average number of persons in it for Hsin Hsing is 6.1. It is the *hu* which is officially registered at the local Hsiang Public Office and as such is considered the official tax unit.[4]

The economic family in Hsin Hsing may take one of three forms—conjugal, stem, or joint; sometimes a family may change through all three forms over a relatively short period of time. The most prevalent type of family in Hsin Hsing is the conjugal, the *hsiao chia-t'ing* or "small family." This family "consists of man, wife or wives, and [unmarried] children. Families of this type may be either complete or 'broken;' the category includes childless couples, families consisting of . . . unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons . . ." (Lang, 1946:14). Others prefer to consider the latter two forms of unmarried siblings or single persons as subconjugal families. Thus, in Hsin Hsing village, sixty-five households (about 66 percent of the total) are conjugal. These comprise only about 55 percent of the total population, since the average conjugal family consists of only 5.18 persons.

For the villagers, the ideal form of economic family is the joint family (*ta chia-t'ing*), usually comprised of at least three generations, and preferably more. According to Lang (1946:14) the joint family includes "parents, their unmarried children, their married sons (more than one) and sons' wives and children" and sometimes other relatives. Or there may be only one of the older parents and the married sons and their families; in another variant the oldest brother "presides over his [unmarried sisters], married and unmarried brothers, with their wives and his children and their children . . ." (Lang, 1946:14).[5] One can more specifically refer to this type as a fraternal joint family.

However, in Hsin Hsing village the *ta chia-t'ing*, although usually

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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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stem families as sons marry and have children; they may ultimately go through a similar process of division. In this manner, over a few generations a larger patrilineal kinship group develops which takes on the activities and functions of a *tsu* organization and is considered to be such by its members. The original *kung t'ing* is retained and continues to be used for the common religious activities of the enlarged kinship group. In Hsin Hsing, as the patrilineal kinship group expands, brothers often keep their own immediate ancestors' tablets, such as that of their parents' and sometimes grandparents', in a semi-formal *kung t'ing* in their own quarters. However, ceremonies honoring the earliest ancestors are still held in the main *tsu kung t'ing* and are attended usually by representatives of all the *tsu* families. If a family moves permanently from the village to the city, it might make an entirely new copy of the ancestral tablet so that all of its own recent ancestors can be worshipped in the family's new locale.

Thus, the kinship group or, when it grows large enough, the *tsu* remains unified or at least is regularly unified on certain occasions as a "religious family." Kulp (1925:145–146) has called it "the practical unit of ancestral worship." The religious family "becomes a conscious unit only during the ceremonies of ancestral worship and varies according to the ancestor worshipped at any one time. It thus includes all those persons who ordinarily come together for ancestor worship." Only direct ancestors (or forebears considered to be such) are worshipped. A religious family is thus composed only of relatives who share common descent from a direct ancestor. The size of the family varies accordingly. While a *tsu* of over a hundred people, like the Huangs in Hsin Hsing, form a religious family to worship their founding ancestor, only the several *chia* of several brothers make up the religious family which combines to worship their deceased father, since he is not the direct ancestor of his brother's children or the other members of the *tsu*. The size and composition of a religious family is thus a function of the ancestor worshipped on any occasion. Thus, one notes that in Hsin Hsing village, when the members of a *tsu* worship their founding or earliest ancestors (whom they share in common), the *tsu* and religious family are identical. At other times a functioning religious family may be only a small portion of the *tsu*.

The newly separated households of the religious family function as a conscious unit for more than the actual ceremonies of ancestral worship. Although attendance at the ceremonies is frequently limited to representatives of each *chia*, other family members are drawn together by the organization, planning, and economic cooperation frequently necessary for such worship. An *esprit de corps* unifies the families in ancestor worship as well as in their mutual participation in rituals upon the death of a *tsu* relative.

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This appears to be especially true in Hsin Hsing village where the *tsu* groups are small and so have little, if any, income from corporate land holdings. A large *tsu* with income from corporate land has a formal organization for the carrying out of ancestor worship or funeral arrangements. The more causually organized *tsu* of Hsin Hsing, however, must organize themselves for each occasion, and most *chia* must actively contribute both time and money. 596 618 769

Therefore, whenever worship of an early ancestor is to take place in one of the larger Hsin Hsing *tsu* compounds like those of the Huang or K'ang groups, each smaller *chia* sends incense, yellow paper money, and food to be used as sacrifices. There is no system of rotation under which each household in turn furnishes the sacrifices for all, although the care of the ancestral-worship room rotates from one *chia* to another at yearly intervals. In the Huang compound, for example, each of the four branches of the *tsu* which descend from the four sons of the *tsu's* founding father takes over the responsibility for the *kung t'ing* for a year and then passes it on to the next branch. The Huang *tsu*, though the largest in the village, has no income from corporate land. The *chia* which has the annual responsibility for the *kung t'ing* must therefore buy incense and paper money for the regular worship in addition to keeping the room clean. The large K'ang *tsu*, on the other hand, has corporate land; the income from this property, through the agency of one of the elders of the *tsu*, covers any additional expenses in the operation of the *kung t'ing*, such as the repair of any religious objects belonging to the *tsu*. The men in a religious family or *tsu* who are respected and act as advisors on *tsu* matters are those who give their time and who are the first to do any necessary work or to give money for *tsu* purposes. However, whatever the type or size of *tsu* group, the worship of the ancestors follows a standard pattern, the only difference being the number of *chia* which participate. 596 434 618 769 596 618 769

Thus, it is only on limited occasions that the entire *tsu* worships the early ancestors held in common by all *tsu* members. These infrequent rituals are held in the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* compound, and male representatives of the *tsu's* member families then seem to be the main participants. On such occasions, the main *tsu kung t'ing* serves as a kind of informal ancestral hall. However, on many other occasions, a small group worships their own more recent ancestors in this same main *kung t'ing* where their ancestors' tablets are housed and which then serves as a kind of private family or sub-*tsu kung t'ing*. Frequently, however, smaller sub-*tsu* groupings or families house the ancestral tablets of their recently deceased personal ancestors in their private, small, informal *kung t'ing* within their own apartment. 596 618 769 353 778

Most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in the village are for the benefit of more recent ancestors of the sub-*tsu* groupings, and these are

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performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

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future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unsusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i;* the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

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582 618 no attempt either by Hsin Hsing villagers or other villagers in the area to develop any definite system of connubium between particular *tsu* groups. This is similar to what Freedman (1958:98–100) finds for Kwangtung and Fukien. It is especially true for the Hsin Hsing area, [17] [114] where most *tsu* groups are so small relatively that their size would tend to limit marriage choices too narrowly. *Tsu* groups therefore have little interest in cementing mutual relationships through marriage patterns. Instead, marriage arrangements in the Hsin Hsing village area are "cast in many directions" (Freedman, 1958:100).

582 The unstructured habit of marriage arrangement is evidenced by the great range of villages, cities, and areas from which wives in the village came. The 154 married women in the village in 1958 whose origin was traced came from a total of 52 different places. Sixty-six came from 19 different villages (including Hsin Hsing) in Pu Yen Hsiang. Fifty-four came from 18 different villages in the neighboring *hsiang* of Fu Hsing. Eight women came from Lukang and 6 from the market town of Chi Hu, about five miles away from Hsin Hsing. The remaining 20 came from 13 other places which ranged from villages in other nearby *hsiang* all the way to the distant cities of Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Hsin Chu.

There does not even appear to be any real patterning in the birthplaces of the women who came to Hsin Hsing from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang and the neighboring Fu Hsing Hsiang. Although 24 women, or more than one-third of all who came to Hsin Hsing from Pu Yen Hsiang, are from the one village of Hsi Shih Hu, this seems to be mainly because it is the largest village in the *hsiang*. In addition, the women from Hsi Shih Hu frequently act as matchmakers between other girls from their own village and Hsin Hsing village families. The same seems to be true for the large village of Fan She, from which 25 percent of all the girls marrying into Hsin Hsing village from Fu Hsing Hsiang come. Their common origin affects in some ways the relations between the Hsin Hsing families into which these women have married. In the early years of marriage the women of about the same age tend to be more friendly. In addition, when either Hsin Hsing or the native village of these women observes a religious festival occasion, the men from Hsin Hsing who are married to women from the same village may go there together, just as the male relatives from the wives' village may come as a group to visit Hsin Hsing.

It was possible to trace in the records and through interviews the place of marriage for only 41 Hsin Hsing village women; again there was no particular marriage pattern. Of the 41, 9 were married into 5 villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, 14 into 8 villages in Fu Hsing Hsiang, 9 into Lukang, and the remaining 9 into 5 other places which included more distant *hsiang* and cities such as Taipei and Taichung. It is

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Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

We have seen that one of the most important relationships for villagers is that which exists between families who claim a common ancestor in the village and who consider themselves to be members of the same patrilineal group, i.e., *ch'in tsu*. On the other hand, a villager who happens to bear the same surname without claiming descent from the common ancestor in the village is called a *ch'in t'ang*, the same term one would use for a complete stranger who happened to bear the same surname. However, in the belief that there was an original common ancestor on the mainland, *ch'in t'ang* in the same village or perhaps also in the immediate village area are felt to be much more closely related than *ch'in t'ang* from other places. And although the relationship is not considered to be one of actual patrilineal kinship, there is nevertheless some special feeling between village families bearing the same surname who believe that they share a common mainland ancestor. But generally, the majority of Hsin Hsing villagers can easily trace their common ancestry in the village itself as a result of its relatively short history.

INTERFAMILY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Since most patrilineal relatives either live in the same house or at least in the same part of the village, this relationship is in turn reinforced by physical proximity. At the same time, although the larger *tsu* of Hsin Hsing do not have ancestral halls (nor do even the three *tsu* villages of the area), the *tsu* do form religious families for the purpose of ancestor worship, as we have already observed. This is another factor which strengthens the bond between members of the same patrilineal group.

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Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

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Perhaps the most important form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives occurs when one of them has any problem with a nonrelated villager or outsider. Even though the patrilineal relatives may not be on the best of terms, when trouble comes they can usually be depended upon to rally to the support of their fellow kin.

However, while patrilineal kinship is extremely important, it is far from being the only relating factor operative in the village. Often the families within any particular patrilineal groups in Hsin Hsing are not on the best of terms. Hsu (1949:129) points out for West Town, Yunnan, that "Even among families whose heads are brothers and first cousins (patrilineal) there is little solidarity. Most of them do not like each other. Only when there is trouble with outsiders do they tend to unite to some degree. But such unity is very temporary." Hsu's statement has some validity for Hsin Hsing; the overintimacy and also the frequent feeling of competition between related families often tends to cause conflict between them.

In discussions with Hsin Hsing villagers, the relationships between all village families tend to be described in terms of *kan-ch'ing*, good or bad. As already noted in Chapter 3, Fried (1953:226–227) defines *kan-ch'ing* as a concept or code of relationships between non-kin of different status, which differs from friendship in that it "includes a recognized degree of exploitation." However, in the Hsin Hsing area, I have found that the term is extended to cover the quality of kin relationships as well. In other words, the Hsin Hsing village area people use *kan-ch'ing* to describe the quality of any relationship between people whose relative positions are in some way differentiated in a hierarchy, whether in class, economic, family, or kinship structure.

Thus, in the Hsing Hsing area, I found that villagers not only refer to their *kan-ch'ing* with a landlord, a tenant, and so on, but also use this same term to describe their relations with *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* relatives. We have already seen that when a tenant reports that he has bad *kan-ch'ing* with his landlord it means that he and the landlord are not behaving toward one another in accordance with the relations prescribed or expected on the basis of their relative positions as landlord and tenant in the socioeconomic system. Similarly, when a villager cites his bad *kan-ch'ing* with a relative, for example, he means that for whatever reasons they have not been displaying the kinds of behavior toward one another prescribed by their relative positions in the hierarchal kinship system. As a result, the feeling or sentiment (the *kan-ch'ing*) is not good between them. Close patrilineal kinship, therefore, does not necessarily determine the nature of one's personal feelings and overt behavior within the relationship.

In Hsin Hsing village, as we have already noted, the *tsu* groups do

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618 423 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) 618 423 578 171 points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 474 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and generally not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done effectively.

618 857 572 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friendships through age groups of children and young people are quite common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition, however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since childhood become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner. In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other, cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed, [618] "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

571 621 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into

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621 406 622 village organization, even the mayor may give only limited help or at best only go through the motions of organizing the entire village to act together.

621 406 571 618 An individual family, then, when faced with a crisis situation, can usually expect aid from its own *tsu* or smaller kinship group but not from the entire village. On the other hand, the comparatively smaller kin groups of the village frequently do not have the power of the larger village *tsu* to give effective aid to an individual faced with problems. Individuals in such small groups therefore tend to limit their involvement in the problems of others, and most such families suffer frequent anxiety and insecurity. In their attempt to ensure some support from the village when in trouble, they put an extremely high priority on the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* with everyone in the village. They are always extremely careful of what they say and do for fear of injuring their village relations. Although no kin relationship may exist, if one of these families should by chance have the same surname as one of the village *tsu* groups, it often attempts to identify itself with that *tsu* group and so derive some of the benefits of membership in it.

Small individual village families can frequently be observed ingratiating themselves with village *tsu* groups with the hope of maintaining good relations. They are also often known for their extreme courtesy with regard to relations with other villagers. The head of one such household confided to me in an interview that only by maintaining especially good *kan-ch'ing* with his fellow villagers could he expect their aid if he needed it. For this reason, he pointed out, he agrees to perform many annoying village tasks and generally goes out of his way to participate actively in village affairs in order to prove his family an asset to the village.

Within the structure of village relationships, the members of the larger *tsu* groups often show a fair degree of self-confidence—at least in their relations with the isolated families or even with families of small *tsu*. In any village discussions of problems, members of the larger *tsu* often suggest that the bothersome tasks be done by someone from one of the smaller or isolated family groups. The latter, usually after some mild objection, almost always acquiesce. But this feeling of confidence that the members of the larger *tsu* groups have is unquestionably limited to their relations with the organizationally weaker and poorer village families. In facing the outside world and the general problems of life, all the villagers suffer from insecurity and anxiety as a result of the village's limited sources of solidarity. [829]

628 612 This is why new relationships made outside the village through marriage with nonrelated families take on added importance. The villagers naturally value their *ch'in ch'i* relations and, to a much lesser

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degree, friends made through business dealings and other means outside the village.

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

In the ethnographic and other literature on Chinese social organization, only passing reference has been made to the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in Chinese life. The possible reasons for this are summed up by Fried (1953:95) when he writes that "kin relations which are beyond the clan . . . are quite difficult to describe, since they lack institutionalization and present few sweeping regularities on which generalizations may be based." He also notes that they should not be overlooked, "since in individual cases they may be of great value."

Most anthropological studies of the Chinese village have emphasized interfamily relationships within the *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kinship group. These are somewhat institutionalized and usually within the confines of the village. This is especially so in a *tsu* village where intra-*tsu* ties tend to overshadow any outside relationships. Writers such as Lin (1947) have discussed matrilateral and affinal relationships in the case of an individual family. In his book *The Golden Wing* we find much of the story revolving around the main character's economic relationships with matrilateral relatives outside the *tsu* village. In this study, however, the relationships are dealt with on the individual rather than on the general village level.

On a more general level, Freedman (1958:104) has noted the extension of the relationships of members of a lineage group through marriage outside the village. On the basis of the available literature, he writes, "Marriage opened up for any family possibilities of social contact with people in other communities . . . men were brought into touch with matrilateral kinsmen and affines, and the relations set up on these bases could clearly serve an important foundation for political and economic activity." But Freedman's main emphasis is lineage organization, and he offers neither much descriptive detail nor analysis of the relations with non-*tsu* kinsmen. This may be due in part to the meagerness of examples available in the literature which point up the actual extent of matrilateral and affinal relationships.

Matrilateral and Affinal Extensions of Hsin Hsing

The general pattern of close relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers with their outside matrilateral and affinal relatives is reciprocal, and would hold true for all the villages in the area with which Hsin Hsing has marital and adoption contacts. For this area at least, Hsin Hsing is far from unique. The relationships have practical value in three main

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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

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guest. He is usually served with whatever delicacies are available and treated in an extremely warm and cordial manner. (When one visits a *ch'in tsu*, even when he is not busy, one cannot expect to be served any refreshments or be treated in any special way.) In speaking of visits to *ch'in ch'i* or of their general relations with them as compared with their *ch'in tsu*, most villagers describe them as being much warmer.

However, as is true of the *ch'in tsu* relationship, there are situations in which conflict does exist between *ch'in ch'i*. There can be conflicts over the exchange of wedding gifts and dowry or tension over the poor adaptation of the daughter-in-law to the new family. Certainly *ch'in ch'i* relationships are not totally without bad feelings, but great care is taken to minimize conflict.

It is because these relationships are so good that *ch'in ch'i* often play an important mediatorial rule. When ill-feeling develops between *ch'in tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the elders of the *tsu* group may be called upon to mediate and settle the dispute. A respected man of the village or the mayor may be called upon, especially by the very small kinship groups. If these means fail it is common to invite a respected *ch'in ch'i* male, who is related to both disputants, to mediate. Such a mediator is considered the person most likely to be able to settle the dispute successfully. Although related to both, this *ch'in ch'i* is somewhat less familiar and greatly respected. If for no other reason than his "face" or his reputation in the eyes of others, his *ch'in ch'i* usually settle their dispute peacefully. The villagers generally feel, then, that disputes between members of the same *tsu* are best mediated by highly respected *ch'in ch'i*.

Politically, the *ch'in ch'i* activities have unquestionable importance during elections beyond the village level. Since the restoration of the present Chinese government in Taiwan, elections of one sort or another have become important annual events in the area. Whether the election is only on the *hsiang* level or as high as the *hsien* level, great interest is built up in the village. Often, several people from the local area or village run in county and district elections. An individual candidate in either, living in a village or nearby market town, must depend upon votes from the entire area in order to win the election. This, then, necessitates a large circle of campaign managers—people spread through the area who will campaign for the candidate among their fellow villagers and their own relatives. For this purpose, one's *ch'in ch'i* are often the most important single source of political support.

Ch'in ch'i are generally spread over the local countryside as a result of the marriage and adoption patterns. Large family groups, which are often the ones most likely to produce a candidate for a political office, are usually noted for the large number of their *ch'in ch'i* extensions. This tends to give added advantage to their candidates. The candidate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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612 666 with a large circle of loyal *ch'in ch'i* campaigners tends to win added personal respect in the area as a result, and when a man does not support his *ch'in ch'i* in an election, it is likely to prove embarrassing to both the candidate and his relatives. The recent importance of elections in Taiwan has unquestionably added to the cementing of good *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

612 666 653 474 It is not only the official governmental elections which depend heavily on *ch'in ch'i* relationships. There are other elections in the local area which are important to the villagers and in which the candidates again often depend heavily on their relatives. Local nongovernmental offices like those in the Water Conservation Association are extremely important to the area. This association has a great deal of control in the building and repairing of irrigation works and in generally controlling the flow of water to the rice paddies. There are also important elected officials in the district Farmers' Association, and *ch'in ch'i* play an important supporting role in the campaigns for these positions.

612 618 666 The support by people for their *ch'in ch'i* candidates for various offices is, of course, not based solely on loyalty to one's relatives. Like all *ch'in ch'i* relationships, these too are expected to be reciprocal. When a village or small group of neighboring villages has problems such as a court case or repair of a faulty irrigation system or a regularly flooded road, the suggestion is frequently made to send a certain villager to ask the aid of his *ch'in ch'i* who happens to hold some office, however minor, in which he could conceivably exert some influence on the government or private agency. Well-placed *ch'in ch'i* can be of great help if there is good *kan-ch'ing* and a feeling of obligation exists. Of course, a *tsu* relative in an official position is even more desirable, but in an area of small kinship groups one's *ch'in ch'i* may tend to outnumber one's patrilineal relatives, extend into a wider geographical area, and so offer greater possibility for aid. Even when a *tsu* member runs for public office in the local area he can ask and expect each of his many *tsu* relatives to solicit aid from *ch'in ch'i*. Although few villagers are actually involved in elections, the *ch'in ch'i* relationships which may be activated in behalf of a candidate are many and far-reaching.

628 612 The matrilateral and affinal relationships which have been described for Hsin Hsing village are not unique to particular families but are general throughout the village. And since such relationships are reciprocal, the same *ch'in ch'i* relationships described for Hsin Hsing village would tend to exist in at least as many villages in which Hsin Hsing people have contacts through marriage and adoption. The extravillage *ch'in ch'i* relationships thus tend to give the villager an additional source of security which can supplement what he derives from his intravillage relationships. Although they are not institution-

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alized in the Chinese social organization like *tsu* relationships, still it is noteworthy that in a village like Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area matrilateral and affinal-based relationships, that is, with *ch'in ch'i*, are much more functionally important than previously indicated in the literature.

This is not to underrate the importance of patrilineal or *tsu* relationships. Where these exist, they are unquestionably the most important, the most relied upon, and the most meaningful relationships. My intention has been to point out the possible extent and importance of the heretofore unrecorded *ch'in ch'i* relationships. By their very nature *ch'in ch'i* relationships, unlike *ch'in tsu*, are seldom carried beyond two or possibly three generations. However, during the period when recognition is still attached to such relationships, they may be of great importance and value to their reciprocal members.

The widespread and important *ch'in ch'i* relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers throughout the area greatly affect village life. The value attached to *ch'in ch'i* relationships extends the villagers' interests beyond their own village, gives them contacts with people beyond their own boundaries, and furthers their opportunities for new experiences.

Dual loyalties may arise with regard to one's own village and one's *ch'in ch'i*. While a villager can almost always be relied upon to give his primary support to his *ch'in tsu* relatives in any conflict with a fellow villager or even with a *ch'in ch'i*, such support is not necessarily extended to a non-kin person with whom he only has an ordinary village tie. Therefore, especially in any situation of conflict between one's own villager and a *ch'in ch'i* in another village, the villager is beset with a conflict of loyalties. Caught in such a dilemma, the villager frequently does nothing openly rather than take a position and antagonize either side. Even if a situation of this kind occurs only occasionally, it tends to reinforce the villagers' belief that in case of trouble they cannot fully rely upon aid from their village alone.

While carrying on field work in Hsin Hsing, I observed a case which serves as a good example to point up several things which have been discussed—the importance and some of the effects of *ch'in ch'i* relationships, the problem of irrigation as a source of social conflict, the lack of strong village leadership and organization in a multi-*tsu* village such as Hsin Hsing, and how these reinforce the villagers' estimation of the limited sources of available support to the individual family.

THE LI FAN INCIDENT: A CASE STUDY

Early in the spring of 1958 a Hsin Hsing villager and his elderly father were severely beaten in their fields by two men from the neigh-

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affidavits of injury from a notorious doctor in a nearby market town.

Meanwhile, the Hsin Hsing villagers faced problems. They did not have anyone who could help write up the accurately detailed letter of accusation required under Chinese law. When they finally found someone to write the letter, it was submitted through the local police and had to go through a long series of channels before it finally reached the courts.

Several days went by and nothing seemed to happen in the case. When the Hsin Hsing villagers—mainly the few relatives and close friends of Li Fan and his father—went to ask the police what was happening, they were told that such things take time and that it would perhaps be better if they tried to settle the case with the Ta Yu villagers through mediation.

About this time, the Ta Yu villagers who were in the pumping station cooperative and who represented the two assailants made overtures to mediate. The reason they offered was that since both sides were hurt in the fight, they should forget the whole matter instead of pressing further and going to court. To this suggestion there was, of course, no agreement.

The Hsin Hsing villagers were in an awkward position. Although most of them would have liked to help Li Fan and his father win satisfaction and compensation for their injuries and to teach their assailants a lesson, they could do little. One of the main problems was that they had no one who would or could act as their leader. They were an unorganized group, and did not know what to do or how to go about handling the case. This was unlike the men from Ta Yu, who not only had a large powerful pumping station organization to support them, but also had the wealthy and influential village landlord who was a key figure in the cooperative and an influential and powerful man in the area to act in their behalf. Hsin Hsing village no longer has capable and interested village landlords who can lead them in times of trouble. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this may well be a general problem in villages where land reform has at least indirectly caused the downfall in wealth and prestige and especially the community interest of many of the former landlords.

Had Hsin Hsing been a single *tsu* village, Li Fan and his father as part of such a *tsu* might have received more active support from the village as a whole. A *tsu* village's organization and leadership, which grow out of family relationships, would undoubtedly have been much more centrally structured than this small multi-*tsu* village with its highly devisive units. To make the matter even worse, Li Fan and his father are from one of the smallest family groups, which made it all the more difficult for the village to marshal and organize its leadership, since there is no formal organization to handle such matters.

Another problem was that many of the villagers who were at first

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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159 612 628 much aroused by the beating of their fellows, later became wary when they began to realize that many of the Ta Yu villagers taking an active part on that side were their own *ch'in ch'i* relatives. To participate actively thus meant fighting against relatives with whom it has always been considered important to maintain good relations. Although these people still wanted to help Li Fan and their own village, they could not do so openly, but rather had to do it in secret.

Other villagers, because of their *ch'in ch'i* relatives in Ta Yu, could not or would not help even in secret, although some continued to pay lip service to the cause of their fellow villager. There were, however, a few villagers who could not even do this. They felt such strong loyalties to their *ch'in ch'i* that they acted as "spies," telling their Ta Yu *ch'in ch'i* of the plans being made in Hsin Hsing to fight the case. Obviously, they considered their relationships with their *ch'in ch'i* more important than those with their fellow villagers. This was realized by the Hsin Hsing villagers who, although somewhat angry, could do nothing more than attempt to keep these people from learning their plans for the case.

159 621 628 The village mayor and several others who might otherwise have been organizers in Li Fan's behalf were among those who could give only limited open help. Therefore, on the Hsin Hsing side there was a complete absence of organized leadership. For want of someone who could or would lead, the village did little except talk about the case.[1]

Not very long after the day of the beating the story of the incident had spread through the whole area. People were talking about the case so much that the winning of it by Hsin Hsing now became as much a matter of face as anything else. Hsin Hsing villagers began to express fears that "if these two Ta Yu villagers were to go unpunished, it would mean that anyone could beat Hsin Hsing villagers or their children at will." No one would respect their rights or face any more if they did nothing about the case.

159 62 [618] [612] As some days passed without anything being accomplished in the matter, some villagers who could openly show concern in the case (for example, a few *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* of Li Fan and his father and also some of their close friends in the village) became active in Li Fan's behalf. They managed to gather together the village men to discuss the matter at a meeting. During the course of the meeting, it became evident that the villagers generally did not know what course of action to take. Their main hope was to settle the matter through the traditional process of mediation rather than take the case through the courts. They feared that going to court would be expensive and take a great deal of time before settlement. But, perhaps even more important, they felt that because they were a small and poor village which was up against a large village and a wealthy, influential pumping

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station association, the whole case would be of no avail. They had always held the idea that the poor man without influence could do nothing against the rich and influential. The latter two elements, money and influence, seemed to them to constitute ultimate power. To attempt to do anything against this power was useless. For them even the law was subject to influence by the individuals who hold the power. (This belief was undoubtedly reinforced during the period of Japanese rule, and the present government has done little to remove it.)

At the same time, the villagers felt that since Ta Yu was a neighboring village in which many Hsin Hsing villagers had relatives, if they were to continue to live in peace with Ta Yu and their relatives it was necessary to avoid doing anything which would contribute further to the tensions. After much discussion it became evident that the villagers preferred first to try again to mediate the problem. However, if this did not work out satisfactorily then the case would have to go to court, although they very much doubted that anything could be gained from a court trial.

A few days after the village meeting was held, the Ta Yu side again approached the village—this time through the mayor—asking that they again try to mediate the case. One of the influential men of the area had offered to be mediator at his home in another village about two miles down the road. Mayor K'ang of Hsin Hsing, an educated member of the large Huang *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village, and others of its villagers directly involved in the case attended the mediation meeting.[2] The mediator was a man who was considered to be biased in favor of Ta Yu, and he displayed his bias in the manner in which he tried to mediate the case. Still, since the role of the mediator is a very respected one, the Hsin Hsing villagers agreed to attend the meeting and stayed throughout the proceedings. They felt that it would have been disrespectful to the mediator to leave too soon and that, in addition, it would cause him to lose face, which was to be avoided. Nothing came of this meeting, since the mediator suggested that the Ta Yu side pay Li Fan and his father only a small amount of money as compensation for their injuries.

After several such futile attempts at mediation, the case was finally called up for investigation in the courts. The court procedure called for the accused and the accusers and their witnesses to appear in a special investigative court somewhat similar to a grand jury. The purpose was to investigate the charges, hear the witnesses, and then decide if the court should indict the accused.

The investigation is highly formalized. Since neither the accused nor the accuser may have their lawyer present, the only document on which the investigators base their inquiry is the original letter of accu-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in the same *chia*. But there are also a number of families in the village which customarily give their children a single character for the given name, omitting the first character which normally designates generation. For the most part, they seem to do this simply as a matter of convenience. 553

Customarily, the natal home of the new mother sends gifts for her first born son and daughter. Such items as gold jewelry and clothing are sent at the time the baby is one month old. It is also at this time that the baby is first taken outside, often dressed in all his new finery. 854 431

The infant is usually nursed for two years or more, or until the mother becomes pregnant again. Mother's milk is the main item in the child's diet during this period; it is supplemented after the eighth or ninth month by rice gruel. At about the age of one the child is given additional solid foods. During this period, the baby may be nursed occasionally by an aunt, a *ch'in tsu*, or even a close neighbor if the mother happens to be away or in the fields and unavailable. Generally speaking, it is very common for female members of the same joint family or kinship group, and sometimes even neighbors who are close friends, to take turns caring for each other's children so that one mother at a time can be released for work away from the house. However, in some small families where there are no other women or young girls such as a daughter or younger sister-in-law, the mother has to carry the child slung on her back while she goes about her work. 853 854 596 621 [618] [853]

Weaning does not seem to be a problem, since in most cases children are weaned fairly late. Village mothers report that in the few instances where a child resists being weaned, the mother may finally put red pepper on her nipples to discourage him. However, such action does not seem to be necessary very often. 862

CHILD REARING

Toilet training, like weaning, is not considered a problem by the villagers. It is not emphasized until the child is considered ready for this new stage—that is, until he is physically capable of controlling the sphincter and bladder and able to understand what is expected of him. By the time the child is six-or-seven-months-old, his diaper is replaced by training pants—pants slit open at the crotch. However, toilet training does not begin until the child is almost two-years-old, walking, and beginning to talk and understand what he is told. At this time he is taught to ask to be taken to an inconspicuous spot to perform. Eventually, he will go there by himself. If the child has a lapse, he is slapped on the hand. Village mothers note that toilet training is usually accomplished in about a week after it is begun and that the child usually offers little resistance. 863

A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the 000

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A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the day, thus relieving the mother for her tasks. It is common to see girls of six or older, or boys if there are no sisters, carrying younger children on their backs. While this prevents older children from participating in many activities with their age mates, there are usually enough children carrying little brothers or sisters around to allow the formation of separate play groups. A boy saddled with a younger sibling is, of course, much more restricted in his activities than a girl in the same situation.

The young child is thus rarely left by himself; he gets a great deal of attention and much affection. One seldom hears a child crying. Since a young child is seldom permitted to crawl about on the ground freely except when he is within sight of someone older, there is also little chance of his being injured. Some village families do have bamboo playpen-carriage combinations in which a child can be kept while the mother is busy with other things.

Generally speaking, very young children have a great deal of freedom and are given few responsibilities. Boys and girls, until the age of five or six, play together and can be seen running about the village in small groups. At about six, they begin to be assigned minor chores about the house such as sweeping, care of still younger children, even care of the fowl. Little girls are given responsibilities earlier than boys, and their activities are thus restricted much sooner.

Children may be disciplined by either parent. Frequently, this task falls to the mother when the father is away working. On occasion, when the father has been the primary disciplinarian in the family, his absence may affect the behavior of his children, and they may refuse to obey their mother. In such cases village *ch'in tsu* may speak with the child, but only if the child's father has expressly asked them to do so. Even brothers do not like to interfere in the training of each other's children since quarrels may develop out of such interference. It is even less likely that a *ch'in ch'i* would discipline a relative's child. This is natural, since most *ch'in ch'i* live outside the village and thus are distant both geographically and in blood relationship. At the same time the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is a notably warm one, and it is unlikely that relatives would care to disturb it by attempts to discipline others' children.

Young children are not frequently disciplined physically and are never disciplined in this way when they reach their early teens. If parents had to beat a child over fifteen, people would say that they could not have "brought him up properly if they still had to beat him." Only on a couple of occasions did I see a child being beaten. In one case a girl of about ten had been caught stealing fruit from a villager's tree. A big disturbance followed, and the girl's father beat her in front of the many villagers who were present. It appeared that

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581 584 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 583 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation [594] may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families.

584 465 When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invitations [203] are sent out by the boy's family to those *ch'in ch'i* and friends in the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and relatives and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the [618] groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

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764 793 522 off-key to add to the comedy. Usually, during the last part of the ceremony, when the forgiveness governor chases the horse at full speed, all the children present applaud and scream with glee. The adults laugh and say "it is all right for the children to do this, since it is so exciting."

764 After the forgiveness letter has been delivered, final preparations are made to simulate the trip of the spirit to the underworld and finally to the Western Paradise. A check is written and signed with the names of [618] relatives and friends, and this, along with millions of dollars of imitation paper money, is burned by the nearest *tsu* relatives, usually members of the immediate family, in the ancestral-worship room. Throughout the ceremony, the room is guarded by two male lineal descendants or close patrilineal relatives of the deceased. They stand covering the door with a straw mat and each holds a large knife in his upraised hand. The purpose of their vigil is to prevent the spirits of any other dead persons, especially if not of the same descent line, or any of various demons, from stealing the money. The ashes of the burned 764 793 804 paper money are wrapped up and weighed by a *tao shih* on a standard wooden balance scale as proof to the gods of the large quantity of money offered them. The *tao shih* also pretends to add up the amount [522] of money by using an abacus. Many villagers watch these proceedings with great delight since the *tao shih* clowns about while doing them. The ashes, with a number of other items, are later placed in the coffin and buried with the deceased.

775 764 536 793 With the offering of the money to the gods, the spirit of the dead begins its journey to the underworld and, it is hoped, its eventual journey to the Western Paradise. The ceremony is only a simulation of the trip, and the villagers explain that it is hoped the rite "will have the effect of later easing the spirit's actual trip by showing it the way." A *tao shih* and all descendants of the deceased who are present make the journey, carrying a white banner which represents the spirit of the deceased, an incense pot, the paper ancestral tablet, paper servants, and a paper puppet of the dead person. The group walks in a circle, [867] crossing an imitation bridge over and over again, and as they walk the *tao shih* tells the people of the "ten acts"—how children should act; how daughters-in-law should act; how servants should act; how neighbors should act toward one another; how brothers should act; how wives should act; and so on.

When the underworld has been reached, two *tao shih* and all the mourners and many village adults and children gather in the ancestral-worship room. The *tao shih* act out long dialogues and stories which [538] tell about the trip and the many people, obstacles, and underworld [867] gods which the spirit has encountered along the way. Many of the incidents related are steeped in moral precepts, but they are also humorous and often exciting.

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Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

The importance of religion in Chinese life has long been underestimated by many Chinese and Western scholars. This underestimation is due in large part to the apparent lack of a formally organized religious system characterized by sacred and pious activities. In truth, though, a very structured system of religious (and magical) belief does exist and is functionally important in the life of the people.

In the Hsin Hsing area (and apparently in most of rural Taiwan) this system is characterized by a strong belief in a supernatural or spiritual community which is composed of the spirits of natural objects, the spirits of ancestors and deified heroes, and evil spirits or demons, all of them able to influence or affect the lives of the villagers. The system functions to merge these entities "into a harmonious whole. The individual person not only has to fit himself into customs and institutions of the living but must adjust himself to the needs of the members of the spiritual community in order to remain *en rapport* with them so as to win the happiness he longs for" (Kulp, 1925:284).

We have already seen something of how the material and spiritual communities are functionally integrated in various aspects of life in the Hsin Hsing area. We saw, for example, how the religious family and its associated religious rites function to buttress the precarious solidarity of the families and *tzu* groups through their periodic divisions, and how the various rites of passage, marking off the transitional phases of the villager's life cycle, help to reaffirm his identity within the family, its extensions, and the community. In this chapter, we will observe the religious and magical practices common to the area: the frequency of the supernatural rituals and the extent to which they pervade and influence village life, and the degree to which some have been modified in participation or performance or in the significance the villagers attach to them as a result of changes in other aspects of the society, especially in socioeconomic developments.

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offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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sweet potatoes. In the case of a jointly owned *kung t'ing*, several members of the large *tsu* who share in the ownership of a harvesting machine or winnower may store the machinery in the room.

The multiple uses to which the *kung t'ing* is put account for its usually untidy and cluttered condition. It is seldom cleaned or dusted. Dust and ashes from burned paper money and incense accumulate during the period between the New Year's clean-up and the sanitation inspection of the village by the police and public office people.

In the Hsin Hsing area, statues of the gods are housed in the *kung t'ing* of village families or in temples. Actually, only the very powerful gods, such as the goddess Matsu and some of the underworld gods, are housed in individual temples, usually in Lukang or some other town. The Earth God is the only god who has his own small temple in each village. His temple is known as the T'u Ti Kung Miao. In a few larger villages a temple sometimes is built to house all the statues owned by the community. But Hsin Hsing and other small villages of the area have no such temple, and village-owned statues are therefore maintained in the *kung t'ing* of private homes. When it is necessary to worship many gods at one time, the gods are invited to come from their resident *kung t'ing* to the single *kung t'ing* which is to be the center of worship for the occasion.

Each year two different Hsin Hsing village families are charged with the responsibility of housing and caring for the statues of Ta Shih Kung, the village god, and T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God, and for arranging any events which concern these particular gods. Each family head is in charge of a single statue and is called a "pot master" (*lu chu*). (The term "pot" apparently refers to an incense or fire pot often used in the worship of a god.) The pot master is usually assisted by several men.

The pot masters and their assistants are said to be chosen by the gods themselves at the annual formal celebration of the village god's birthday. On this occasion, the names of all the village family heads are read out singly "to the gods," who are asked to make their choice. To determine the god's answer, kidney-shaped blocks are thrown in turn by each family head. The ways in which the blocks fall are interpreted as either an affirmative or negative reply. A third possibility is that the god is laughing at you. The men who are rewarded with the most positive responses are named pot masters and assistants. Not infrequently, the old head of the household who is selected as pot master is already virtually retired. In such a case, it is realized that a son will handle the great responsibilities of the job.

Occasionally in Hsin Hsing, pot masters have taken their responsibilities seriously enough to spend a great deal of their own money to refurbish an old and worn statue of the god. In one such instance, a

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there may be certain decisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

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ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Haing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

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621 As the villagers have begun to extend their activities and interests
177 beyond Hsin Hsing, the village's influence on the lives of its members
178 has deteriorated even further. The increase in activities beyond the
village means that the proportion of their total activites and hence
• 618 their involvement within Hsin Hsing is decreased. While the *tsu* continues to perform many of its functions within the context of the village, when its members—by necessity—become more involved beyond the village, even the *tsu*'s role must be affected. The still relatively small and rather localized Hsin Hsing village *tsu* have very limited influence or means to support their members in their needs and relationships beyond the village. And as the villagers seek to establish outside sources of solidarity and security, the *tsu* is even further affected.

621 The most significant consequence of these socioeconomic develop-
177 ments in the Hsin Hsing area recently has therefore been an even
more rapid functional deterioration in the internal village social
178 organization. This is reflected in the decline of the village as a community and source of solidarity for its members. Along with this there
[59] has also developed a growing independence of the economic (usually
[618] conjugal) family unit from the village and even from the larger kinship group or *tsu* as well as a relatively increased independence of the individual from the family. The Hsin Hsing villagers have thus found it necessary to replace the supportive socioeconomic relations formerly based almost exclusively on village community life and kinship relationships (*tsu*) with relationships beyond the village.

[128] The progress of such cultural changes has been suggested throughout the book. Now I will particularize, and indicate their existence in the context of modern-day attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns towards the family unit, the *tsu* organization, the village, the land, education, and conflict resolution.

59 Traditionally, the joint family was idealized. Although it often
178 could not be realized in practice, as an ideal it was very highly valued. Division of joint families into individual small conjugal families was frowned upon, and when it did occur—as a result of internal family conflicts born of economically based problems and general poverty—it was quite common to attempt to disguise the split. Often, only the smallest degrees of division were permitted as a means of alleviating the sources of strain between the conjugal units, and when eventually a complete division had to be made, it was usually only after attempts had been made to mitigate the causes prompting it.

Thus, although the small family was most common and the rate of
[171] family division was high, great theoretical importance was attached to the large joint family and was reflected in the villagers' behavior. In present-day rural Taiwan the rate of family division has not actually

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changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

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since most often neither their own *tsu* nor family groupings are large enough in numbers to offer sufficient possibilities for relationships. As I have indicated throughout the book, although *tsu* and kinship is the most important single basis for relationships with others, Hsin Hsing villagers are far from being tied to one another exclusively on the basis of kinship or *tsu* relationship.

Hsin Hsing has many formal and informal "social associations," activities and relationship groupings whose membership roles cross kinship lines. We have seen this in groups of villagers based on membership in a particular irrigation system or pumping station association, exchange labor groups, cooperating groups in vegetable marketing, loan associations, father-mother burial associations, sworn-brother age groups, and so on. Each non-kinship based formal or informal activity and association that a villager participates in and depends on performs an important function and fulfills a need. By doing this, such diversified non-kin relationships also tend somewhat to interfere with and weaken *tsu* organization by impairing its solidarity and therefore its ability to achieve security for its members. By doing what the kinship organizations cannot do, such associations expose the inherent weakness of the kinship-based organizations.

At the same time, the non-kinship based organizations have inherent weaknesses of which the villagers are aware. Each has a different composition of members, and the villager does not share membership in all the different associations with a single uniform grouping of fellow villagers. The *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kin group thus remains the primary basis for the most continuous and stable long-term relationships; such relationships are institutionalized and, unlike relationships with fellow villagers or outsiders, do not change from time to time. The villager therefore appreciates the importance of his kinship group and is desirous of maintaining his close relationship to it. But he also appreciates the necessity of establishing supportive socioeconomic relationships beyond the *tsu* and village, and it is these kinds of relationships which appear to be increasing in both frequency and importance and to be fostering a decline in identification with the village as a community.

Such a decline means that villagers today find it increasingly difficult to cooperate for mutual aid, even when it is still necessary. It is even questioned whether aid should be offered to a non-*tsu* fellow villager in times of emergency, such as when problems arise with other villages. The case of Li Fan discussed in Chapter 6 shows that the villagers now often have little basis for cooperation and mutual aid and, in addition, are today faced with a conflict of loyalties—a waning loyalty to their fellow villagers and, at the same time, at least a continuing and perhaps even growing loyalty to people in other vil-

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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

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example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercussions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *kan-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

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The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

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redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Communists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme breakdown of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

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[8] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land."

Chapter 3: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security.

[2] These 99 had a population of 608 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available.

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others.

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do.

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for

182 necessary to maintain an extended family. These processes
183 are a rational application of permitted alternatives to
59 achieve culturally defined goals.

The improvement of economic conditions, the rapidly changing demographic rates, and the changing values originating from the larger modernizing society are undoubtedly going to change the typical family life cycles previously described.

The Basis of Extra-Familial Kinship Organizations

121 Families are building blocks in the larger kinship
• 618 units, the clan and the tsu (lineage). The clan consists
613 of people who have the same surname and are therefore assumed to have descended from the same ancestor although the genealogical details are unknown. Fried (1957: 1966) has referred to this assumption as "stipulated descent" and contrasted it with the foundation for the lineage, "demonstrated descent," where the exact details of genealogical connections are known. There are a number of border situations found in Sanlei Ts'un which are difficult to place in either category.

618 Usually a surname was said to be established by some particular historical individual from whom generations are numbered such that most people know the number of their own generation. It is assumed then that although two individuals with the same surname may not know which is the most recent generational ancestor they share, i.e., eighth

• 618 or tenth, they do share the first. Given sufficient depth of generations and the fact that there can be a wide age spread between the youngest and oldest individuals in a single generation, there is little relationship between genealogical generation and physical age. For example, one of our assistants in his twenties found a man with the same surname in a nearby village. Although the villager was over seventy, he was numbered three generations later. They both read a newspaper which was delivered all over Taiwan and carried news items devoted to the activities of people with their surname. They considered themselves distant clan relatives (ch'in t'ang) and the old man, with a smile, referred to our young assistant as great uncle. Even within shallow-depth American families, a man will occasionally be older than his own uncle.

All of the men in Sanlei surnamed Liao considered themselves to be ch'in t'ang. The Liao group which founded Sanlei all came from the same village in Chuan Chou, Fukien and other Liao migrated later, some from the same village and some from communities in the same county but not in the same village area. For one larger group of Liao, descent was demonstrated but for the balance, descent was merely stipulated.

[262] One area difficult to classify according to the above scheme is due to the fact that several generations after the establishment of the Liao name an event occurred,

618 the result of which caused one Liao to pledge for himself
[262] and his descendants never to eat the head of the chicken. Thus, the Liao in Sanlei are divided into two subdivisions neither of which can trace actual descent: "those who eat" and "those who do not eat" chicken heads. Those who do not eat chicken heads regard themselves as closer relatives than those who do, for obviously they must share an ancestor more recent in genealogical depth than the original founder. In spite of this shared genealogical relative who was nearer than the founder, descent is still not really demonstrated. A Liao usually called both kinds of Liao ch'in t'ang and distinguished the two subdivisions by means of reference to eating or not eating chicken heads. There is no similar "in-group" feeling for those who eat chicken heads, a local delicacy.

602 538 551 The second area difficult to classify revolves around another kind of question as to whether or not descent is truly demonstrated. Sometimes a significant individual will compose or commission a poem to be written. He gives his children the first word of the poem as a middle name; grandchildren, the second, etc. The poem may continue to be followed or be abandoned by some or all lines of descent. If two people have the same surname and the same middle name, they compare father's, grandfather's, etc., middle names and if identity is established, they assume they have a common ancestor, i.e., the poem writer

602 or commissioner even though neither can really trace the
538 chain of ancestors linking themselves to him. For example,
551 if two men share the seventh word, their fathers the sixth, and grandfathers the fifth, they assume a shared ancestor eight generations earlier although neither has knowledge of any ancestors beyond grandparents. There are two such poems in process in Sanlei Ts'un, one of which is registered in the Liao Temple[11] near Taipei.

602 The poem system is not wholly accurate as a basis
538 for establishing relationships because, for religious
183 reasons, a child may get a unique middle name or someone who is not a regular descendant may start naming his descendants according to the poem. In this case he will match the generation number of his child to the poem word that has that generation number. After several generations pass, it is possible that no one would know that a line using the poem did not truly extend back to the poem writer or commissioner (or vice versa). Thus, although lines using the poem are assumed to share an ancestor closer than the founder, once more descent is not truly demonstrated. Nevertheless, people sharing a poem name are felt to be closer relatives than people not sharing one.

• 618 The above beliefs define a number of groups in the
602 village: those named Liao,[12] Liao who do not eat the chicken head, and two non-inclusive sets of Liao who are

following a poem. However, none of these groups are a very important part of village social organization. They are consanguine groups and consanguine relatives are closer than non-relatives and this fact does play some part in establishing social relationships such as friendship, work exchanges, money lending, etc. The groups do have some importance for socio-political events for factional leaders often utilize kinship identities to solicit support. However, none of the above groups can really be defined by corporate holdings other than burial plots or even by ritual.

In only one case does a group approach the definition by Hu (1948:10), membership may be "spread over a wider region, it has its focus in one community which is always associated with ancestral graves and the ancestral hall." There is no ancestral hall. However, about fifty years ago, a Sanlei villager returned to his family's original village in Fukien to visit. Among other things, he registered people in the old ancestral halls and copied genealogical histories and became intrigued with the large lineage burial plots found in Fukien. Upon his return to Taiwan, he managed to unite three of five descent lines from a single man in establishing a single large and elaborate burial plot. (The area surrounding Sanlei is rated particularly highly in terms of feng shui[13] for burial and possesses many elaborate tombs.) Earlier burials of some

[Additional information on tsu may also be found in category 613.]